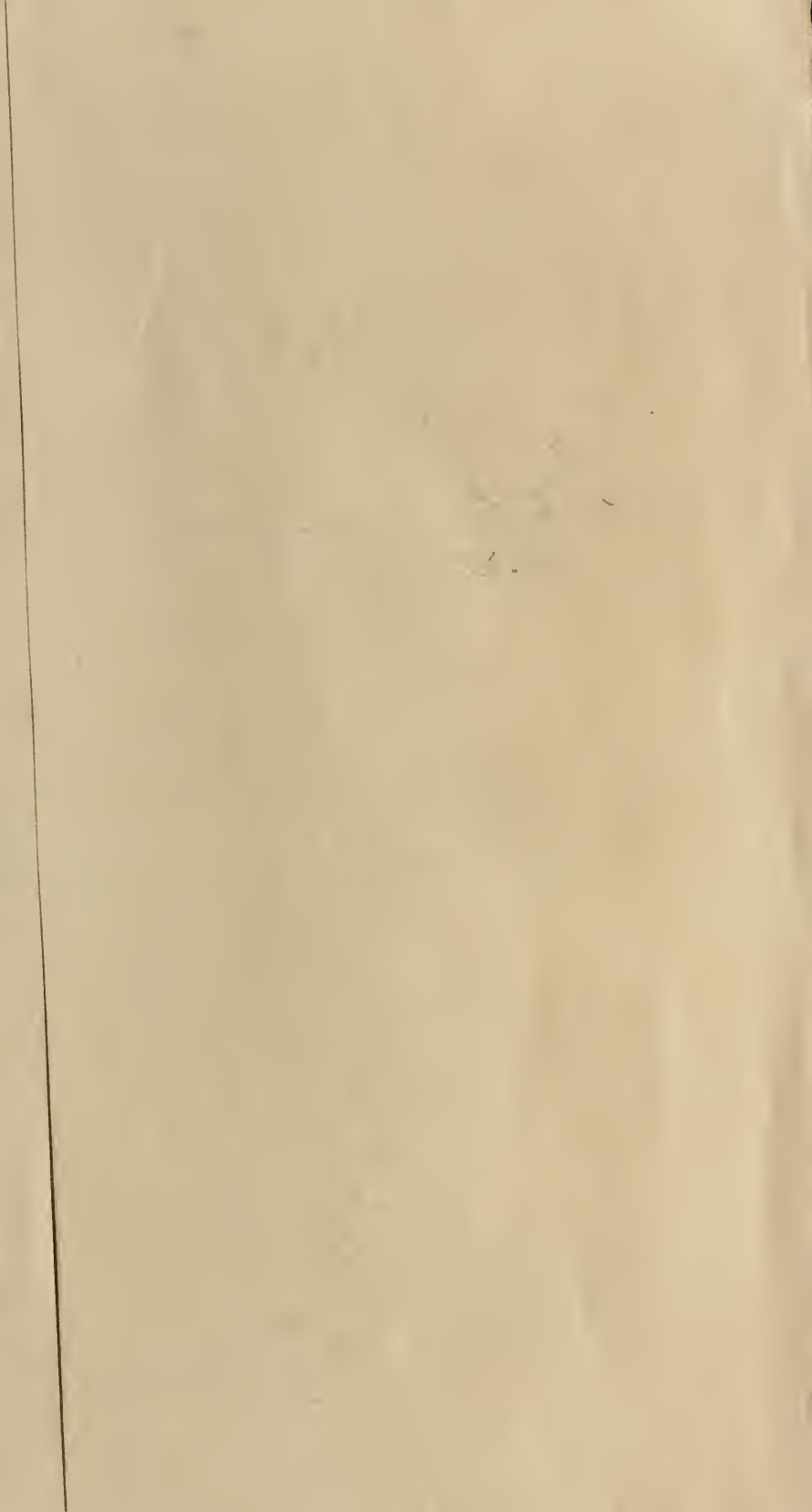


American Union

1857



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THE

'MANIFEST DESTINY'

OF THE

AMERICAN UNION.

*H. Martineau*

REPRINTED FROM THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

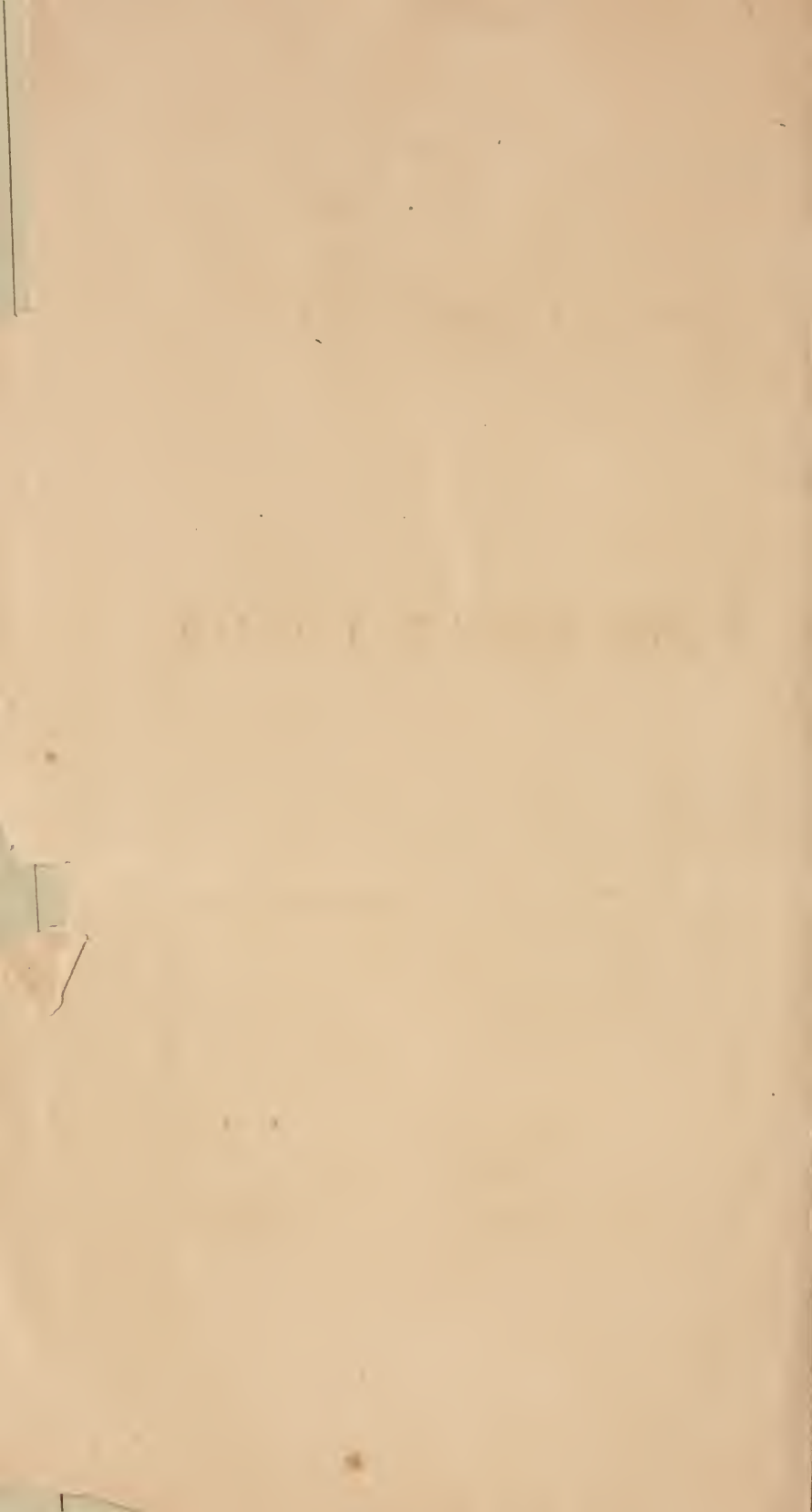
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NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

138 NASSAU STREET.

1857.



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*Wm. L. Garrison*  
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The Empress of the French amused herself, a few months since, with pretending to represent the alarms of the ladies of Europe about the comet which was to strike the earth in the course of June, 1857. She played off a man of science at one of her evening receptions, by an affectation of panic about the comet, trying to make him ridiculous between his eagerness to show how absurd her idea was, and his deference for the person to whom he was speaking. What he endeavored to convey was the same comfort that has been administered to timid Englishwomen—that, in the first place, the comet would not come near us; and, in the next, that if it did ‘strike the earth,’ we should not find it out, but simply complain of misty weather. The Americans and their revolutions are illustrated by such cometary facts and fancies. An American, like an Englishman or a German, starts at the word revolution, deprecates it, prays to heaven against it, disavows and denies it when it begins to envelope him, and, while he is in the very midst of it, insists that, however gloomy the political times are, he sees nothing like chaos and destruction, and cannot therefore be passing through a revolution.

In 1760, the accession of young King George was loyally celebrated in the colonies, and New England could not enough congratulate itself on belonging to Old England, with its train of great names and its treasures of liberty. The year after, the townsmen of those colonies were vexed and irritated by the new grievance of custom-house officers entering their abodes, by force of law, at all times of the day or night, in order to search for smuggled goods. This was done in virtue of Writs of Assistance, invented and issued for the purpose ; and they were the first-fruits of the determination of the British government to tax the colonies without their consent. They brought out an able lawyer on the platform of public affairs, whose voice of resistance echoed through the whole of the colonies. James Otis thus made proclamation of the war of ideas which issued in the independence of the United States. It was the impinging of the comet upon the regular old orb ; but nobody was aware of the moment of collision. Revolution ! O dear, no ! Nothing was further from people's thoughts than revolution. James Otis declared himself ready to sacrifice his very life in defence of colonial rights ; but the Americans were the most devoted subjects that the English monarchy could boast. Four years later, when the Stamp Act was to be enforced, the ominous step was taken of convening delegates from all the colonies, to consider how their liberties were to be sustained : and in the meantime, the Boston people hanged their enemies in effigy, saw their courts closed rather than use the obnoxious stamps, and sent back ships laden with merchandise—resolved to endure the inconveniences of the scarcity of such commodities, rather than to pay arbitrary import duties. They wore old clothes ; abolished the wearing of mourning at



funerals ; killed no more lambs till there was wool enough, and brought other colonies into a non-importation compact. But nobody dreamed that this was revolution. Why, it was later than that—as late as September, 1768—that the convention of delegates from a hundred towns assembled in Boston, humbly petitioned the King, and professed their loyalty in the strongest possible terms :—

‘ We hold that the sovereignty of his Majesty, King George III., is entire in all parts of the British Empire. God forbid that we should ever act or wish anything in repugnation of the same ! We appear as plain, honest men, humbly desiring peace and order ; and while the people observe a medium between abject submission and a slavish stupidity under grievous oppressions on one hand, and illegal attempts to obtain relief on the other, and steadily persevere in constitutional applications to recover their just rights and liberties, they think they may promise themselves success.’

What could be less like revolution than this ? Yet there stands a significant entry in the diary of John Adams, when he had been listening to James Otis—‘ At home with my family, thinking.’ Even after the Boston Massacre, as it was called, when five lives were lost in a collision between British soldiers and American citizens, the avowal of a desire to continue subject to British government is found in records of all public meetings ; though the growing particularity may perhaps suggest that the idea of separation was becoming more familiar. In 1771, Dr. Franklin said that the seeds of disunion were being sown : but even he did not perceive that it was nearer harvest than seed-time. Even when the people were incited to emulate the courage and faith of their fathers, who ‘ made a settlement on bare creation,’ being not afraid of poverty, but disdaining slavery, all resistance was to be conducted ‘ un-

der the shield of the British Constitution, and in strict adherence to their charter.' Towards the close of 1773, when night fell on a day of trouble and vague portents, a mother and her young children, in the neighborhood of Boston, listened for the return of the head of the household, who was later than usual. His wife helped him off with his coat, and brought his slippers; and when the children were gone to bed, she showed her husband how well it was that it was none but herself who took charge of his shoes. They were full of tea! But for this, even she would never have known so much as one of the fifty men who, with coats wrong side out, and covered faces, threw the tea into the dock. But this couple were as far as any one else from dreaming that they were helping to enact a revolution, though they were within three years of the Declaration of Independence! It now began to be agreed, it is true, 'that if they would maintain their rights and liberties, they must fight for them': and they did fight for them so soon as the spring of 1775; but it is on record that the citizens who rallied and marched the militia after the skirmishes of Lexington and Concord, and the women who nursed the wounded, had, even then, no notion that they were in the middle of revolution. They were as ready as ever to start back from the word; and they went on supposing, as they had done for fifteen years, that matters would be accommodated, and that they and their children should live and die under their charters, as their fathers had done before them. They were then actually the nucleus of the dreadful comet, while they declared that their atmosphere was too gloomy for them to see far, but that such a thing as a comet was certainly nowhere within ken.

Our readers are by this time making comparisons,

no doubt, between the incidents and feelings belonging to the first American revolution, and those which have for some time past, and with perpetual increasing force and clearness, indicated a second. We believe we have the means of showing that a second great revolution is not only approaching, but actually far advanced, and that some of the wisest and best of American citizens have so far profited by the lessons of their fathers as to be fully aware of their real position, though a vast majority still insist, as the new President did in his inauguration address, that 'all is calm,' because his party has carried the election. During the fifteen years preceding the separation of the American colonies, almost every body supposed, as often as there was a lull, that matters were settled; and in like manner the President and all commonplace people among the millions whom he addressed in March last, are satisfied that the declaration of the poll was sufficient to annul all the controversies and collisions which had lately caused the Union to ring with threats and promises of dissolution on either hand. When observers stroke their chins, and remark that the state of things looks very like revolution, the old reply comes up, 'Revolution! O dear, no! nothing of the sort! The Union is so dear to the American people, that no lapse of ages will dissolve it.' And the laugh raised against such observers is at least as contemptuous as any ridicule directed against trembling inquirers after the comet of June, 1857.

We are glad to see, by Mr. Chambers's latest work,\* that he has awakened from the state of unconsciousness of the crisis with which, like most Europeans, he was infected by the Americans while on

\* *American Slavery and Color.* By William Chambers, author of 'Things as they are in America.' London: W. & R. Chambers. 1857.

their territory. His first impressions were of the brilliant features of the destiny of the great Republic. Retrospect and reflection at home have had the happy effect of revealing to him the awful peril which underlies the apparent prosperity, and the extent of the fatal barbarism which threatens the whole structure of American civilization. With a candor highly honorable to him, Mr. Chambers puts the public in immediate possession of his latest convictions, and his work is just the compilation that is wanted for use in England, as far as the historical and statistical particulars go. We still observe the defect which was so striking in Mr. Chambers's former work—his insensibility, to the character and function of the American abolitionists; and this is to be regretted, not only for the sake of justice, but because the character and function of that body are indisputably the leading element in the question—What is to become of a republic laden with the curse of slavery, in an age too advanced for it? Mr. Chambers despairs of the result: he sees none but a calamitous issue from the crisis. No other conclusion is possible to him; but his conclusion would be different, and his views infinitely more cheerful, if he were but aware of the history, quality, and actual influence of a body, with whom it is clear he had not only no intercourse when in the United States, but whom he has yet to learn to estimate. To state the problem with a curt dismissal of the abolitionists, because they are few, is like the account which might have been given of the disturbances of the Church three centuries ago—Luther and his disciples being passed over, because they were only a handful of men. This is an omission which largely affects Mr. Chambers's conclusions, of course; but, this caution being given, the

book may be used with confidence, and will, we trust, be extensively and thankfully read, for the sake of the mass of facts which he has brought together in a statement almost as alarming to the English public, who can say what they feel about American destinies, as to Americans, who cannot, under their present circumstances, employ equal freedom of speech.

A few lines will indicate something of the importance of the element omitted by Mr. Chambers; and if they should suggest to him the one remaining duty which would complete his good work—that of studying the history and function of the abolitionists,—we have no doubt that the same candor which admitted of such progress as he has already made, will lead him on to conclusions more consolatory and animating than he can at present form in regard to the issue of the American struggle.

To the abolitionists proper belongs the honor of all the ameliorations in the condition of the slaves of the South, and of the free blacks of the North, for the last quarter of a century. They fixed the attention of the world on the treatment of the slaves, and thereby improved that treatment,—the slaveholders being at least as sensitive to the world's opinion as other classes of their countrymen. In the North, so far from deserving the reproach which Mr. Chambers directs against them, of inhuman and practical aversion to the colored race, they have earned the opprobrious title of 'amalgamationists' from the South by their success in opening to the free blacks the colleges, the pulpits, and the common schools of their communities, as well as the steamboat and the omnibus, the concert room and church-sittings, with collateral benefits in proportion. By their stout warfare with the prejudice of



color, they have brought on themselves a long series of fearful persecutions. Their houses have been laid in ruins, their public halls burnt, their children excommunicated, their lives threatened and embittered with insult. They have watched with increasing vigilance over such liberties as were provided by the Constitution, and so analyzed that Constitution as to prove to all minds that it must be amended before the Republic can ever again be tranquillized. By this small band of devoted and enlightened men and women, the conscience of the nation has been kept alive, and the country has been revolutionized, thus far, without violence and bloodshed, by the force of reason and conscience. The revolutionary crisis being (as is agreed on all hands) inevitable, its being accomplished by other means than a servile war will be due to the abolitionists, if that fearful catastrophe should be indeed escaped. Superficial observers, and strangers indoctrinated by the slaveholders and their creatures, the Colonization Society, have been apt till lately to despise the abolitionists on account of the smallness of their numbers, and their severance from all political parties ; but a deeper sagacity and the most ordinary impartiality will discern that these two particulars are the very secret of their influence. It is because they know that political factions can never regenerate the public that they keep aloof from parties, and thus maintain their ground and their power through all political changes : and it is through their abstinence from intrigue on the one hand, and violence on the other, that their numbers must ever be small. To obtain any great accession of numbers, they must lower their standard, which they are not likely to do after a quarter of a century of severer temptation than can beset them again, and after achieving an

amount of success which renders their principle and procedure unquestionable by all rational persons who understand the case. The range of their services has been wide and various. The condition of the slaves, in regard to material treatment, has been greatly equalized and improved by the attention of the world being fixed upon their case ; the false pretences of all dishonest parties have been continuously exposed ; the Church, the judiciary, the legislatures, and all leading men in each department, have been tested, and their true quality exhibited. The worldliness of the commercial North has been rebuked as effectually as the despotism of the slaveholding South : the whole country has been roused to a sense of the approaching crisis ; and, while the field has been cleared for the conflict, the slave population has been deterred from insurrection. Before 1832, when the first abolitionist spoke his first word, the slave insurrections averaged twelve in a year ; whereas, from 1832 to 1856, there was no insurrection whatever. The slaves were aware that their cause was in better hands than their own, and they waited patiently till, in the course of the election of last year, Southern men themselves imprudently identified the success of Fremont with the abolition of slavery, and thus, according to their own confession, made themselves answerable for a partial rising. Even so bare a recapitulation as we have given of the services of the abolitionists may be welcome to the readers of Mr. Chambers's latest work, as opening some prospect of a good and happy issue where to him all appears perplexing and desperate. The ten righteous men, having wrought for so long, may save the city yet.

Before we survey the recent transactions of the respective sections and States of the Union, it may

be well to denote the various parties concerned in the existing struggle and its issue. We do not mean to waste any space in describing the political parties whose very denominations are a ludicrous puzzle to strangers. Such parties rise and disappear like bubbles on a turbulent stream ; so that they are hardly worth a stranger's attention in ordinary times. But, at present, scarcely any of them appear to exist. The current of events is too strong for them ; the times are too grave for political skirmishing ; and the whole people are massed in sections characterized by distinctions which cannot be admitted and discussed in a day.

The leading sections are the North and the South, of course ; but it is a mistake to suppose that the division of the men is as clear as the distinction of the policy. The South has a policy ; and as it is a slaveholding policy, the very small body of slaveholders usurps the title of the Southern section. Of the 27,000,000 of inhabitants of the United States, less than 350,000 are slaveholders in any sense ; and it is computed that, of these, not more than 1000 are indoctrinated and zealous slaveholders. Of whom, then, does the so-called ' South ' really consist ? There are, as we have said, 350,000 slaveholders ; and if their connections of every sort are included, the entire oligarchy cannot consist of more than 2,000,000. Then there are, at least, 4,000,000 slaves. The slaves being double the number of the ruling class is a formidable circumstance in itself ; and it becomes of proportionate importance to learn what the remaining element is. That element it has been the policy of the South to keep out of view, and till lately it has succeeded : but the last census revealed the fact that the ' mean-white ' population of the South—the non-slaveholding whites—consti-



tute no less than seven-tenths of the whole free population of the slave States. In the 'History of American Compromises,' this class of inhabitants is thus described :—

'Wherever slavery exists, labor becomes, of course, a badge of degradation. In America, no class—not even the slaves—are so utterly degraded as the whites, who, in slave States, have no property, and must live by work or theft. The planters are always trying to get rid of them, as dangerous and vexatious neighbors; and these poor wretches—the descendants, for the most part, of the proud colonists of two centuries ago—are reduced to sell their last foot of land, and be driven forth to live where they can. They are receivers of stolen goods from plantations, and traffickers in bad whiskey, doing no honest work that they can avoid, and being employed by nobody who can get work done by any other hands. Few of them can read; most of them drink; and the missionaries report them as savage to an unparalleled degree,—many having never heard of God or of Jesus Christ. Of this class are the "Sand-hillers," the "Clay-eaters," and other fearful and normal classes of residents in the slave States. Strangers hear, in visits to the plantations, of these "mean-whites" as the supreme nuisance of the South, but are led to suppose that they are a mere handful of people, able to do a good deal of mischief by tampering with and corrupting the slaves. The last census, however, reveals the tremendous fact, that these "mean-whites" are seven-tenths of the whole white population of the slave States.'—p. 29.

The readers of Mrs. Stowe's 'Dred' need no further representation of the mode of life of these people; and the facts of their position,—their numbers, possessions, occupations, and social standing,—are exhibited with fullness and precision in Mr. Olmsted's work on 'The Seaboard Slave States.'

Here, then, we have the three classes which constitute the population of the South:—1st. The owners of property and their families, composed of a small caste of 2,000,000 of persons; 2d. Their

slaves, now more than double the number of the oligarchy ; and, 3d, the poor whites, who have neither property nor power to labor, and who outnumber the other two classes together. Till very recently, these were literally all : for free negroes are excluded from slave States by law and usage, and in fact ; and white labor cannot co-exist with black. But the eagerness of the Southern oligarchy to extend the area of slave States has led to the unexpected issue of slavery being stopped in its spread to the south west by the intervention of a substantial industrial body of immigrants. Mr. Olmsted's volume on 'Texas' informs us that the number of Germans in that State, at the beginning of the present year, is computed at 35,000, 'of whom about 25,000 are settled in the German and half-German counties of Western Texas.'

'Among the Germans of the West (of Texas) we met not one slave-owner ; and there are not probably thirty among them all who have purchased slaves. The whole capital of most of them lies in their hands ; and with these, every black hand comes into tangible and irritating competition. With the approach of the slave, too, comes an implied degradation, attaching itself to all labor of the hands. The planter is by no means satisfied to find himself in the neighborhood of the German. He is not only by education uncongenial, as well as suspicious of danger to his property, already somewhat precariously near the frontier, but finds, in his turn, a direct competition of interests, which can be readily comprehended in figures. The ordinary Texan wages for an able field-hand are \$200. The German laborer hires at \$150, and clothes and insures himself. The planter for one hand must have paid \$1,000. The German with this sum can hire six hands. It is here the contact galls.'—*A Journey through Texas*, p. 432.

The reader of Mr. Olmsted's charming narrative of his experience among the German settlers will need no arguments to convince him that any conflict

between free and slave labor on that fair field must issue in the defeat of the latter. Mr. Olmsted says :

‘ I have been thus particular in describing the condition and attitude of the Germans, as the position in which fortune has placed them, in the very line of advance of slavery, is peculiar ; and, so far as it bears upon the questions of the continued extension of cotton limits, the capacity of whites for independent agriculture at the South, and the relative profit and vigor of free and slave labor, is of national interest.’  
—p. 440.

Here, then, is a fourth element of Southern population, small at present, but steadily increasing, and admirably placed for driving back slavery from the south-western frontier. The planters fear and hate this element ; the negroes love it, as far as they recognise it ; and the ‘ mean-whites ’ hardly know what to make of it. The Germans, meantime, have no liking for any of the three classes of neighbors.

How are the 17,000,000 of the North massed in regard to political questions ? Their numbers alone would seem to give them power to carry any point in which they believed the welfare of the Republic to be involved ; and when it is remembered that the suffrage is *bona fide* in the Northern States, while in the South three fifths of the slaves count as voters by a constitutional fiction, strangers may well wonder how it is that the freemen of the North, being much more than double the number of those of the other section, permit any conflict which can endanger their country. Hitherto, it seems to have been the business of the slaveholding aristocracy to govern the Republic for their own purposes, in virtue of their compact organization, their strong and united will, and their accomplishments as men of letters and leisure ; whereas the freemen of the North

have had only a negative policy with regard to the great subject on which the South has a positive one ; and the next great question, that of protection and free-trade, is one which is supposed to render the commercial and manufacturing portion of the Republic dependent on the producing section,—the merchants and manufacturers on the cotton-growers. Hence, mainly, it is, that the vast body of free, industrious and prosperous inhabitants of the Union are regarded only as a party, and a subordinate party, in the political history of the country. It is obvious that whenever the *prestige* of the governing party is shaken, and the bulk of the free population is fairly roused to honest political exertion, the Constitution of the United States may become whatever they choose to make it, by means peaceable in proportion to the preponderant force of numbers. But they are not roused to honest political exertion ; and hence it is that, though the Southern oligarchy are deteriorated in ability, degraded in morals, and brutalized in manners, as a necessary consequence of a protraction of slave institutions into an age too advanced for them, their abler and more civilized fellow-countrymen of the North are involved in a revolutionary struggle, instead of carrying their government up to the head of the free governments of the world. This immense population, which lives in subservience to half a million of fellow-citizens, consists of hundreds of thousands of merchants, millions of land-owners, innumerable clergy of all denominations, multitudes of other professional men, large corporate bodies of manufacturers, and crowds of individual producers in all crafts. The only part of the 17,000,000 of the North not included in this mass of freemen are the two classes of immigrants and free colored people. The latter are

few, though more numerous than the slaveholders. They are somewhat under half a million, and they have no political weight at present, except in an indirect way, by their political competency and rights being one of the questions of the controversy. Till quite recently, the full importance of the immigrant element of the population was not recognised, though the slave States have manifested a growing jealousy of the labor-power by which the superiority of the North in wealth and prosperity has been created. The formation of the Know-Nothing party—a Southern device—was the first great recognition of the vital importance of the foreign industrial element,—being neither more nor less than an admission that slavery and immigration could not co-exist in the Republic. A similar testimony was afforded when, on the disappearance of the Know-Nothing party, some Southern governors and legislatures opened the fresh project of a renewal of the African slave trade. The Northern States have borne the same testimony by the formation of the Emigrant Aid Societies; the object of which is not so much the keeping up of the supply of laborers in the old States, as the settlement of fresh territory,—at once preventing the extension of slavery over new soil, and giving the benefit of the increase of production to the commercial North, instead of the agricultural South. This important body of citizens—the European element—consists chiefly at present of Germans, whom we have just seen actually turning back the tide of slavery on its remotest frontier, and who afford a good rampart on the Northern frontier,—in Illinois, Indiana, and the back of Pennsylvania and New York. The distinctive and highly useful characteristic of the Germans is, that they are commonly capitalists and laborers in one.



So are the Hungarians, Belgians, Dutch and Swedes, while the Irish afford an element more resembling the slave labor of the South than any other that can be found in the free States. The whole body is, in combination, one of vast and growing consequence.

Lastly, there is the very small body of Abolitionists, properly so called. In number, probably much under one in a thousand of the citizens, standing outside of political life and action altogether, and combined by no other bond than that of hostility to an institution which every body about them ostensibly condemns, they make no show to account for their importance. We do not include under the term any political party which assumes any convenient portion of their doctrine; because it is clear to all impartial persons that the great problem now harassing the Republic cannot be solved by the ascendancy of any political party. We are, therefore, classing the Free-Soil party, and every other transient embodiment of the great difficulty, with the general mass of the Northern population; and when we speak of the Abolitionists, we mean the permanent, small, active, agitating anti-slavery body, to which the South attributes all its woes, and which really is answerable for the critical condition of the question at this day. There is no truth in the Southern accusation, that the Abolitionists tamper with the slaves, or countenance violence in any form, or under any pretence. The great majority of them are non-resistants, and moral means are their only weapons; but they are, as the Slave Power says, the antagonistic power by which the destinies of the Republic have been pledged to a principle, as in the days of their fathers, and at whose instigation the conflict must be carried through, and the fate of the nation decided. They

are the actual revolutionizers of the Republic, while for the most part peace-men in the doctrinal sense of the term. The difference between them and the amateur peace-men of some European societies is, that they do not consider the shedding of blood the greatest of evils, but simply an inexpedient method of prosecuting their aim; and thus they are not bound to 'cry peace where there is no peace,' but will not cease to agitate while the wrong is unrectified; and, at the same time, their mode of procedure is of incalculable value where the solution to be apprehended is that of servile war on the one hand, and a military despotism on the other.

These, then, are the sections of the population, North and South, among and by whom the second great American revolution is to be wrought out. What has been done up to this time? What is doing now? By what phenomena are we justified in speaking of American affairs as in a revolutionary state at this moment? We will cast a glance round that great circle of grouped sovereignties, and see what social symptoms are exhibited from point to point within the frontier. For the history of the question on which the fate of the Union hangs, we have no room; and we cannot do better than to refer our readers to the sketches offered in the works of Mr. Chambers and Mrs. Harriet Martineau. The economical condition and much of the social character of the slave States are fully and most ably exhibited in Mr. Olmsted's two volumes. The very high quality of both these books of Mr. Olmsted sustains the eminent reputation of American travels,—a branch of literature in which our cousins of the Northern States excel most other men; and we should enjoy the task of justifying our admiration in this case by a full review of Mr. Olmsted's works;

but our immediate object is to mark the revolutionary indications of the country and time. A brief and cursory survey of existing affairs will, we think, convince all observers that to deny that the American Republic is, and has long been, passing through a revolution, is to be very like the inexperienced generation who heard the firing at Lexington and Concord, and saw the tea shot into the harbor, without any notion that the colonies had cut themselves adrift from the mother-country.

The survivors of the founders of the Republic believed—we now see how wisely—that the first move in the second revolution was made in 1820. Thoughtless persons wondered at the solemnity of their language; but time is fully justifying it. In 1787, when there was a distribution of lands belonging to Virginia, the establishment of slavery on new territory was prohibited; and nobody called in question the power of the National Congress of that day to impose such a prohibition. During the thirty following years, there was no dispute on the point; and it was with dread and surprise that, in 1819, the venerable statesmen of the Revolution began to apprehend the course which the South is following out at this moment. It was on the occasion of the Missouri Compromise that the doubt was insinuated whether Congress could impose conditions on the admission of new States into the Union. In the ‘History of American Compromises,’ we find an account of the emotions excited by an anticipation of what we are seeing now :—

‘The prohibition of slavery on the distribution of the Virginia lands in 1787 proves that the power was no matter of doubt at that time; yet it was now contested, in the teeth of as many as survived of the very men who had made the Constitution, and distributed the lands. The conflict was fierce; and it



embittered the latter days of the patriots who yet survived—Jefferson, Jay, Adams, Marshall, and indeed all the old political heroes. “From the battle of Bunker Hill to the Treaty of Paris,” says Jefferson to Adams, “we never had so ominous a question. I thank God I shall not live to witness its issue.” Again, after the compromise—“This momentous question, like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only—not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral or political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper.” Jay wrote—“I concur in the opinion that slavery ought not to be introduced nor permitted in any new States; and that it ought to be gradually diminished, and finally abolished, in all of them.” The most cautious of politicians, Judge Story, never threw himself into any great public question but once, and this was the occasion. He spoke in public on behalf of the absolute prohibition of slavery, by express Act of Congress, in all the Territories, and against the admission of any new slaveholding State, except on the unalterable condition of the abolition of slavery. He grounded his argument on the Declaration of Independence and on the Constitution of the United States, as well as on the radical principle of Republicanism. When the result was trembling in the balance, and the issue seemed to depend on the votes of six waverers, Judge Story predicted a settlement by compromise—a present yielding to the South on condition that it should be for the last time; this “last time,” however, involving the admission of the two waiting States, whose climate and productions afforded an excuse for slavery, to which Missouri could not pretend. A short and pregnant sentence, in a letter of Judge Story’s, shows that a new light had begun to break in upon him at Washington, which might make him glad of such a compromise, as a means of gaining time for the preservation of the Union. After relating the extraordinary pretensions of the South, he concludes thus:—“But of this say but little; I will talk about it on my return: but our friends in general are not ripe for a disclosure of the great truths respecting Virginia policy.”

For thirty-seven years, the great constitutional question has come up again on all marked occasions, and under many phases, till the present year, when all the conditions of revolution are fulfilled, and there appears to be no escape from the alternative of an overthrow of the original Constitution of the Republic, or its preservation by means of a separation of the States. To this issue the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott seems to have brought the great controversy, which may be briefly thus described.

In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, there is a paragraph which was struck out as unnecessary. It charged George III. with the crime of the slave trade, among the other offences there set forth in solemn order. Mr. Chambers saw this document in the rooms of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; and he naturally considers it 'the greatest archæological curiosity' that he saw in the country. When that paper was drawn up, slavery existed in all the States; but its abolition was so near and certain in many of them, and the universal dislike of it appeared to be so strong, that even the far-sighted Franklin believed that it would soon be got rid of, with other mischiefs imposed by the connection with England. We have Lafayette's testimony, (given in grief at the bad spirit which had grown up between 1776 and 1830,) that during the revolutionary war, there was no distinction between the blacks and the whites as soldiers and citizens. Soldiers of the two races bivouacked together, eating out of the same dish, as well as fighting side by side: and in the towns, the free colored men were citizens, in every sense as good as the whites. Even so late as 1814, nearly the same position was held by the black soldiers, as is

proved by General Jackson's address to them a few weeks before the battle of New Orleans. 'As sons of freedom,' the General wrote, 'you are called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confidence for a valourous support,' &c. In a subsequent address, the recognition of the citizenship of the negroes was as ample as possible. 'When on the banks of the Mobile,' he says, 'I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glories of your white fellow-citizens, I expected much from you,' &c. When the Americans began to govern themselves, therefore, and for long after, the condition of the negro race was this: Those who were slaves were rapidly obtaining freedom by the abolition of slavery in State after State; all importation of negroes was forbidden after 1808; and the emancipated slaves became citizens in the fullest sense of the term. While the eradication of slavery was supposed to be thus proceeding in the settled States, the institution was excluded from new territory by express provision, as in the case of the distribution of the Virginia lands, under the compact of 1787. The mischief and disgrace of the institution were charged upon Great Britain, fairly and sincerely; and there was more or less reason for the excuse of inherited crime up to 1820, when the Missouri Compromise destroyed it, by unnecessarily introducing slavery into the State of Missouri, where it was not justified by circumstance of climate, or any overpowering expediency whatever. Still, it was the practice to speak of slavery as an evil and a disgrace, and to cast the blame of it on England which introduced it, till the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1855, by which the institution was adopted as the substantial policy of the Republic, to

the support of which every State of the Union should be pledged. American ambassadors in Europe, and the entertainers of European travellers in the United States, were wont to speak plaintively and deprecatingly of the misfortune they had inherited from the mother-country. But for seven years past—we may say for thirty-seven years past—the excuse has been invalid; and now the nation, if judged by the action of the federal government, proclaims to the world that ‘slavery is the corner-stone of the Republic,’ as Governor M’Duffie of South Carolina declared it to be, when few had courage to make such an avowal.

It was in a continental or national Congress—the last—that the prohibition to introduce slavery into new territory was passed in 1787; but the acts of that Congress were sanctioned and adopted by the Federal Congress, without dispute or demur, for a long course of years. We have seen how great was the shock to the surviving statesmen of the Revolution when the right of that Congress to rule the conditions of new States was brought into question in 1820. The controversy was suspended by a compromise, which, by excluding slavery from all territory north of a certain line, licensed it in all territory south of that line. Ten years after that compromise, the Abolitionists began to see how fearful were the condition and prospects of their country, if slavery should continue to impoverish the soil of half the States, and to undermine the liberties and corrupt the morals of the whole; and they have worked devotedly, and made the most magnanimous sacrifices, during the intervening quarter of a century, to revolutionize their country by moral agitation, with a steady avoidance of political movement, in order to intercept the last fatal result of a servile war, bringing on a total national overthrow.

Though there were more signs of political disturbance prior to 1850 than we have space to detail—such as the suppression of the right of petition to Congress, the violences inflicted with impunity on the Abolitionists, and the prostitution of the mail service,—there was a sufficient external quiet and decorum preserved to cover up the wounds of the Republic from foreign observation, and to excuse timid or indifferent citizens from appearing to see that any thing was wrong. The warnings of the Abolitionists were troublesome and vexatious; the rebukes of Dr. Channing were smiled at as coming from a mere divine, who could be no judge of practical affairs. The legislation of 1850 was a thunder-clap to many who had been apathetic before; but its portentous character was not estimated till the broad tokens of revolution were displayed in the leading State of the Union. They might not be recognised as revolution, any more than the pouring out of tea and of blood on a former occasion: but they were something so serious as to rouse and prepare the general mind for the yet more critical manifestations of the present day.

When the Fugitive Slave Bill passed, there were about 9000 persons of color in Massachusetts.—Within three days after its passage was known, forty of them were in flight for Canada, though legally protected by the Constitution of the sovereign State in which they were living. One day in May, 1854, the old Faneuil Hall in Boston rang with speeches which were as revolutionary as any which had ever been uttered there before, on occasion of the arrest of Burns, a fugitive slave, whose liberty was guaranteed by the laws of the State, while annihilated by the new federal law. Nothing can be more revolutionary than a direct collision between



a law of the Union and a law of any State ; and nothing can be more absolutely opposed than those laws in the present case. The court-house at Boston was surrounded by a chain ; and soldiers were marched through the streets, under the apprehension of a rescue of a kidnapped slave. The free colored people plied a battering-ram against the door of the court-house, and obtained entrance. The alarm-bell of the city conveyed news of the tumult to the shipping in the harbor, and the villages around. The affrighted claimant of the negro would have gladly backed out of his enterprise, and taken the price of the man which was offered by the authorities ; but orders from Washington forbade him to withdraw, as the President was resolved to bring the dispute to an issue on this case. During the interval of two days before the trial, all interest in other business was suspended. From every pulpit on the Sunday, prayers were requested ‘ on behalf of a brother in sore distress.’ In the remotest parts of the State, handbills were circulated, imploring the yeomanry to repair to Boston, and see the issue. ‘ Come, but *this time* with only such arms as God gave you.’ Multitudes came ; and those who remained at home, organized township meetings, where resolutions of the strongest character were passed. As the pleadings in the court-house were drawing to a close, cannon were planted in the square, the military lined the way to the harbor, and a small steamer skulked about there, trying to find a place at some wharf. This showed what the result was to be. The citizens were not prepared to resist it ; and their want of concert and preparation has been bitterly mourned by them ever since. What they could do at the moment, they did. Twenty thousand of them lined the foot-pave-

ment, to give their greeting to the fettered black as he was marched down to the harbor. The shops were shut, the balconies were filled by women in mourning; and at the moment when the doom was pronounced, the flags of the Union and of the State were lowered, hung with black. There were three sounds strangely mingled during that march. The bells were tolling; and there was one carriage—the gan which the artillery drew. Another sound completely overpowered both,—an ear-piercing hiss from the entire population, and loudest from the merchants assembled on the steps of the Exchange. Burns was carried off by means of the unconstitutional submission of the authorities. While we write, we find that one of them, Commissioner Loring, has at length undergone retribution for his conduct on the occasion. He braved public opinion, at the time and afterwards, in reliance on the support of the President and the Cabinet; he ignored all demands that he should resign; he strove to appear unmoved by gifts of purses, containing ‘thirty pieces of silver’; and he, no doubt, trusted to wear out his enemies by passive endurance of their scorn. But they had all his perseverance, and a better cause. They did not choose that a man should hold office after having decided against the laws of his State, when those laws were in collision with new enactments of Congress declared unconstitutional by the best lawyers in the country; and they have never ceased to work at the deposition of Loring from his office of Judge of Probate. He was displaced in May last.\*

\* So it was understood in Boston as elsewhere; but Governor Gardner has a second time undone the work of the Legislature, and refused to remove Judge Loring.

As far as the man Burns himself was concerned, it mattered little, for he had become too dangerous, by means of his extraordinary experience. He could not be allowed to converse with slaves, or even with their owners, in the South : he was presently released, for a small sum, and he is now happily employed in selling books in the lobbies of the Senate House in Ohio. As for the State in which such things were done, no rational observer would suppose that any community could settle down into acquiescence after such a demonstration, without a removal of grievances ; and Massachusetts is, in fact, outside the pale of the Union at this moment, in company with several other States, as we shall presently see.

It is not possible for us to give a continuous narrative of the events, the successive steps, by which the results of the acts of 1850 have deepened into the present revolutionary crisis. We have exhibited one instance of the working of the laws which repealed the Missouri Compromise ; repealed it, not for the sake of restoring the old faith in the powers of Congress, and the old restrictions on slavery, but in order to subject the whole Union to the control of the Southern section, and to throw down the remaining barriers by which free labor was protected. The picture of Boston, in wrath and mourning, on the day of the rendition of Burns, is a fitting frontispiece for the disclosure of the actual condition of all the States.

President Buchanan said, in his Inaugural Address on the 4th of last March, that the question of the power of Congress to fix the conditions of admission to the Union was before the Supreme Court, and would presently be decided there. Meantime, the President plainly intimated his own opinion,



that Congress had no such power. Within forty-eight hours, the decision was given,—five judges of the Supreme Court delivering the conclusion anticipated by the President, and two dissenting from it. Chief Justice Taney was a Maryland lawyer, once eloquent at the bar on the guilt and misery of slave institutions, and on the indignation due to Great Britain for subjecting his country to the curse. He obtained his great rise in life by services rendered to President Jackson in the bank crisis. He was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and then introduced into the Supreme Court as Associate Judge. On the death of Chief-Justice Marshall, all the world looked for the succession of Judge Story to the office, entitled, as he was, to it, on every possible ground. The Catholic slaveholder, Taney, was, however, appointed; and from that time, (nearly a quarter of a century since,) the Southern politicians have used their opportunities well in obtaining a hold over the great instrument of the federal judiciary. The founders of the Republic stretched a point, for the sake of steadiness and security, in the case of the Judiciary as well as of the Senate. They decreed that the judges should not be elected, but appointed for life, under the safeguard of impeachment. But perseverance in improving vacancies may serve almost as well as the elective method when party purposes are to be served; and the South now holds as secure a majority in the Supreme Court, as if it had beaten the North in the election of judges. Its pet judge, Taney, has now precipitated the conflict which the new President hoped to defer for four years. No one will undertake to say that the appointment of Judge Story would have saved the State from collisions, or materially altered the case. It is not every man who

is born a hero, and Joseph Story never advanced pretensions to a valor which he did not feel. On the contrary, he eased his mind by avowing, in private intercourse, that his apprehensions of the consequences of any action on any side in the sectional question sealed his mouth, and paralyzed his hands. After the crisis of the Missouri Compromise, he never (as his son informs us in vol. i. p. 360 of his 'Life and Letters,') came forward in public on political matters; and if such was his course of silence and non-committal in his own State, it is not likely that he would have stemmed a stronger current of opinion at Washington. He never did as Associate Judge, and we have no reason to suppose that he would in the more conspicuous seat from which he was injuriously thrust aside. After this long term of office, Chief-Justice Taney has immortalized his old age by the judgment in the case of Dred Scott, which, whether recalled or allowed to stand, will, in all probability, be renowned hereafter as the occasion, though not specifically the cause, of the outbreak of the second great American Revolution.

Dred Scott is a negro, who supposes himself to be about fifty-five years of age. He was born in Virginia, and was taken by his master to St. Louis when he was a young man. Being purchased by an army surgeon, named Emerson, he accompanied this new master in his professional removals; and in one instance, lived for two years in that North-Western territory which was made exempt from slavery for ever by the Act of 1787. Unaware of having thus acquired his liberty, he offered to buy himself and his family of the widow of Dr. Emerson. The lady refused; he was advised to claim his liberty; and the proceedings have dragged on for ten

years, during which interval, Mrs. Emerson has married again, her present husband being a citizen of Massachusetts, and heartily disposed to establish the liberty of Dred Scott, for which he has spared no effort and no cost. The trustee of his wife has, however, had complete control of the suit. During the uncertainty of the case, and while he was left to do pretty much as he pleased, Dred Scott's two daughters escaped—probably into Canada. There can be little doubt that he will be released, as Burns was, on account of his dangerous antecedents; and he is, at all events, sure of good usage, from the eyes of the world being fixed on his case.\* He himself says, with the complacency belonging to slavery, that he could make thousands of dollars by travelling through the country, and merely saying who he is. The judges (five out of seven present) went so much further than was necessary in the judgment they pronounced, that it is evident that they seized the occasion for establishing the supremacy of the Southern policy, at the outset of a new presidential term. The decision embraced five points; whereas the first was enough for the case before them. The points are these:—

1st. That negroes and people of color are not citizens; and that, as a consequence, Dred Scott could not come into court. This, if true, settled Dred Scott's business, and that of four millions of his race, natives of the United States.

2d. That slaves are property, in the same sense as

\* Since the above was written, intelligence has reached England that Dred Scott and his wife and two daughters were emancipated at St. Louis on the 26th of May. The husband of his owner effected his release by making him over to a slaveholder of St. Louis who had power to emancipate him, and lost no time in doing so.

any kind of chattel : so that a slave-owner may carry his negroes into any State of the Union, and settle them there, as slaves, notwithstanding any State laws to the contrary. If this is true, the whole Union is slave territory, and the sovereign States have no power to deliver themselves from it. It needs no showing that this cuts up by the roots the fundamental liberties of every Republic in the Union, and enslaves the Federal Union itself under an assumed ordinance of a long-dead generation.

3d. That Congress has no power over the institutions of the Territories : in other words, that all the provisions of the settlement of 1787, all the enactments at the time of the Missouri Compromise, all the reversals of those enactments in 1854, all the proceedings of seventy years which suppose the citizenship of the colored people, the limitations of slavery, and an antagonistic policy between North and South, are mere waste paper.

4th. That Congress cannot delegate a power which it does not possess ; and that, therefore, the Territories themselves have no power to exclude slavery from their own borders.

5th (included in the second). That the slaveholder has a right to settle his slaves on any soil within the Union, as a Northern man may establish his cattle and horses wherever he pleases to live.

We need not waste our space in any discussion of this judgment. On the face of it, it makes slavery as perpetually and every where present as the atmosphere, over the whole area of the United States ; and it overthrows the entire legislation of the Federal Union and of most of the States, for above seventy years, in all that concerns inter-state relations, and the rights of the sovereign States. Thus the rights of the negroes are only one portion, and not

the chief portion, of the interests involved. The judgment is of the strongest revolutionary character,—subversive as it is of the whole mass of legislation, and the whole policy of the founders of the Republic and their successors to this day. If it could be acted out, *that* would be revolution. If it is resisted, *that* is also revolution, because the entire organization of the Federal Government stands or falls with the Supreme Court. Some people talk of the judges being compelled to reverse their own judgment. If that were possible, the authority of the judiciary is virtually destroyed; and the question which caused its destruction remains, pressing for settlement, while more than ever incumbered with hopeless embarrassment.

The immediate effects of the decision are very striking. As far as we have been able to discover, no one has publicly avowed approbation of the judgment. The most that we see attempted on behalf of the South is the assumption that, the judgment having been passed, it must be made the best of. The newspapers in the interest of the South and its cabinet at Washington, take for granted that the only remedy is a majority the other way in the Supreme Court. In illustration of this, those journals point out the habit of the judges to live to a good old age; so that it is likely to be fifteen years before the scale can be turned. This is a cool way of degrading the judiciary into an object of party contest; but then, persons who talk of this judgment being the law of the land, must be well aware that long before that term has expired, the Union may be under a military despotism, or have fallen to pieces.

The President, in the first place, assumes that the matter is settled, and all right; though his Secreta-



ry of State, Mr. Cass, with all his Southern leanings, could not sit through the delivery of the judgment. After manifesting many signs of agitation, he snatched his hat, and left the court while the Chief-Justice was still speaking. As soon as it was possible for reports to arrive from various parts of the country, the central newspapers began to teem with rebukes of the disorderly spirit of communities and their leaders, which would not sit down quietly under the doom of their constitutional liberties. The Republican party, which so nearly brought in Fremont, and which expects to bring him in next time, was informed that its 'platform' was 'shivered to atoms.' 'That is settled. What was in doubt (the power of Congress in the Territories) is in doubt no longer. The supreme law is expounded by the supreme authority; and disobedience is rebellion, treason, and revolution.' Such was the language of government organs. But so loud was the outcry, of not only the Republican party, but a good many more of the citizens, that feelers were put out to try whether the judgment could not be got rid of. The political talkers affected to consider the decision an opinion which left the case unsettled; and we have seen some newspapers, in which tentative paragraphs to that effect were put forth. But it appears to have been too late for that mode of escape, when the two dissentient judges, Curtis and McLean, had published their protest against the judgment, and the grounds of it. When the minority of the Court treated it as a decision, nobody out of the Court could declare it to be only an opinion.

While this was going forward, what was the general aspect of society at Washington? For many years past, the imperious temper and bullying man-

ners of the untravelled Southern members of Congress had so encroached on conventional usages, in regard to the Northern members, that it was clear that some explosion must take place, showing whether or not the two kinds and degrees of civilization could combine for political action. The outrage on Mr. Sumner was the explosion which so many were looking for; and the world in general seems to think that the question is pretty nearly settled. The South at large supported and rewarded the ruffian who assailed an unarmed man at a defenceless moment; and it is not easy to see how two sets of legislators, who are of directly opposite opinions as to which was the hero and which the coward of the occasion, can legislate together on matters which involve the very principles of liberty, and the civilization which belongs to it. The one set of members are living under a retrograde military *regime*, in a period of despotism and physical force; and the other is living under the advanced period of the commercial *regime*, which supposes and guarantees personal liberty, and sanctions intelligence and self-interest, superseding physical force. Emerson was roused by the occasion of the assault on Mr. Sumner to utter words which were caught up throughout the free States: and public opinion in the world generally seems to corroborate his conclusion. 'I do not see,' said Emerson, in his address to the citizens of Concord, 'how a barbarous community and a civilized community can constitute one State.' This is the question in which the continuance of the Union is involved; and it was proposed in its most critical form by Preston Brooks when he half murdered the Massachusetts Senator on the floor of Congress. The South, by recognising the deed as an act of patriotism, has sealed the doom

of the Union, if the more civilized portion of the States choose to exact the legitimate consequences. About the same time, another member of Congress took occasion to exemplify the Southern view of industrial relations. He shot through the heart an Irish waiter at a hotel, and escaped all punishment but a small fine, imposed by the District Court, as if for the purpose of endorsing the murderer's opinion that 'a menial' is not a man,—white laborers reducing themselves, by the very act of labor, to the social position of slaves. The *Charleston Standard* observed on the occasion—'If white men accept the office of menials, it should be expected that they will do so with an apprehension of their relation to society, and the disposition quietly to encounter both the responsibilities and the liabilities which the relation implies.' An Alabama paper hoped that 'waiters at the North' would take a lesson in prudence, and not expect the security of gentlemen while they did the work of gentlemen's live chattels. Can those who work, and those who thus regard work, 'constitute one State'? Meantime, a clergyman, the Rev. Moncure Conway, much followed and respected, preached some of the commonest doctrines of Christian liberty and love, and was advised to resign his pulpit at Washington. He did so; and there was an intention of building a church for him where he might preach the whole Gospel, but he seems to be now permanently settled at Cincinnati; and one of the recent tokens of revolutionary tendencies in Ohio, is an invitation from a body of Senators and Representatives to Mr. Conway to come and lecture to them. According to Mr. Olmsted's statements, slavery must be rapidly melting away in the District of Columbia; and accounts from Virginia, of a yet more recent date,



plainly fix the time, within a few years, when scarcely a slave will be left in Washington. The number of European and free negro laborers and servants is perpetually on the increase; the facilities for escape are very great; and the owners of slaves prefer letting them out to hirers beyond the limits of the District. Yet there are frequent evidences of the slaves being, even now, too many for their masters. The accident, whatever it was, which killed so many of the boarders at the National Hotel, last winter, and which has prostrated the health and strength of so many more, (including the President,) was at first hushed up as much as possible; but whatever the truth may be, the fatality at the National Hotel has led to the disclosure of a good many elsewhere.\* First, there was talk of arsenic; and this occasioned the temporary 'solution,' as it was called, of the rat story. It was said that a multitude of rats, suffering under the pains of poison,

\* At the end of April, the number of ascertained deaths from the fatality at the National Hotel was between twenty and thirty; and there were still many cases lingering between death or recovery. The number of persons taken ill was seven hundred; and there is probably no other country in the civilized world where such an incident could have made so little noise. When deaths were still occurring, after an interval of many weeks, the merchants of Washington subscribed ten thousand dollars for a reward, on information being given which should afford a solution of the mystery. At a still later date, two physicians of the highest reputation were commissioned to examine and report on the character of the disease; and a set of questions were sent by them to every invalid about the symptoms and course of the illness. As the seven hundred victims are dispersed over the whole country, the medical world has every where become interested in the inquiry; and by the latest accounts, the conviction that arsenic was the agent is becoming universal.

had rushed into the cistern, and were found close packed in layers in the water drunk in the house. This story being anxiously disproved by the proprietors, and hushing-up being impossible, an ostentatious examination and superficial report on the drains and cesspools was sent forth, some essential facts of which are denied by competent persons, while subsequent deaths are believed to point unmistakably to arsenic as their cause. There is a tacit understanding among many,—probably among most of the observers of the circumstances,—that the catastrophe is doubtless the work of slaves; and no one who has so visited the slave States as to be in the confidence of the planters, could be much surprised at such an incident. There is scarcely a long-settled neighborhood in the Southern States where there are not bereaved parents, widows, and widowers, whose homes have been rendered desolate by ‘the propensity’ of slaves to poison whites.

At Washington, we thus see one half of the Senate is in direct hostility with the other; while the leading men of the great Northern majority, in both Houses, live under threats of assault, and carry arms in fear of murder by ‘Southern chivalry,’ if caught defenceless. The Supreme Court has descended into the dirt of political partisanship, and adventured the overthrow of the principles and policy of the Republic, directly provoking a revolution. No man in the capital of this Democratic Republic can safely speak his mind; and even the clergy cannot freely preach the gospel from their own pulpits. As murder skulks in the streets, so poison is hidden at the Board. The President tells the world in his public addresses, that nothing can be better than the state of the country; and that, in regard to political agitation, in particular, ‘all is calm:’ while

aware that treason reigns in the courts, violence in the legislative chambers, assassination in the streets and public vehicles, and a most potent spirit of vengeance in the kitchen; while he is himself feeble and suffering from 'an accident,' which he can perhaps account for better than we can. He is understood to promise 'a totally new policy, domestic and foreign,' about which he is to explain himself in the summer. Meanwhile, it is for our readers to judge whether Washington is prepared, by a spirit of union, loyalty, and mutual confidence among its residents, to be the citadel of the Federal Government, in case of revolutionary action among the States.

What is the aspect of the respective States? The two leading sovereignties, according to tradition and *prestige*, are Virginia and Massachusetts; the first leading the 'gallant South' and its 'peculiar institution,' and the other heading the Puritan-descended populations and governments of New England. According to the statements of the leading journal of its capital city, Richmond, less than five years ago, Virginia once contained more wealth and a larger population than any other State of the Union; whereas it was, in 1852, the fifth in point of wealth, and the fourth in population. The city of New York then contained more free persons than the whole of Virginia east of the Alleghanies; and of this population, it was computed, that no less than 166,000 young persons, between seven and sixteen years of age, were brought up in total ignorance. These were 'mean whites'—an element which we have shown to be all-important in considering the political prospects of any State where they exist. There is a better chance for them in Virginia than in any other Southern State, because there is less

slave labor. The land has lapsed into barrenness, through the failure of capital and the high cost of labor; and the revenue of the slaveholders is mainly derived from the slave-breeding. Not one-fourth of the cultivable area is under tillage; and two-thirds of what was once highly productive is now mere waste. Farms are offered for sale 'by thousands,' the journals say; but nobody will buy. Even the wolves have re-appeared in Eastern Virginia, and the newspapers declare that they are as numerous, and inhabit lands as wild, as in the days of Captain Smith and Pocahontas. The soil lies open for tillage; yet the poor whites are so destitute and discontented, that there is a growing dread of 'rebellion' on their part, by means of a vigorous use of the suffrage, which would presently place the legislation of the State in their hands. In the midst of the vigilance caused by this apprehension, Governor Wise ventured upon the most extraordinary incitements to revolution, in case of the election of any President acceptable to the Northern States, which he describes as peopled by 'greasy mechanics,' who live among foul circumstances and foul thoughts, and bring down all the gentry to their own level. He was prepared for a dissolution of the Union, and declared the State to be so, too, in preference to living under the rule of Fremont. A greater revolution than he proposed is going forward under Buchanan. So many slaves have escaped, and the abasement of agriculture is so complete, that the party of west-country farmers, long desirous to abolish slavery, is receiving accessions of force which seem likely to render it dominant. For some time past, land has been offered to settlers from the North and from Europe so cheap as to intercept some of the migration to the West. The land so offered is

chiefly lapsed estates, which, once exhausted and left wild, have returned to their original condition, and await the process of clearing, as they did two or three centuries ago. So good is the prospect, that the Hon. Eli Thayer, of Massachusetts, has set on foot a project for settling Virginia lands from New York by means of a company, just as Kansas is dealt with by the Emigrant Aid Societies. The proposal has been like a bomb-shell cast into the midst of the State of Virginia. Some leading newspapers go all lengths in denouncing such interference with the staple business of slave-breeding ; while other journals hope that it may regenerate the State by introducing a good quality of labor, which must bring after it the capital which is so much needed. The scheme is not a sound one ; for no citizens of any free country, American or European, could endure to live under the laws of Virginia, as they now are ; and there can be no reason why emigrants should sit down in a region where industry is a disgrace. But there is no doubt of a radical change being in progress, which cannot go on long without bringing Virginia over to the Northern section, in virtue of its free labor. The black population is carried out of the State in such numbers, that the newspapers propose a term of ‘ ten or twenty years ’ for ‘ clearing Virginia completely of that part of her population.’ Any considerable immigration from the free States, and the creation of a new landed and free-labor interest, would bring after it a speedy change in the laws, and complete conversion in politics. But the decision in Dred Scott’s case leaves no time for a peaceable conversion ; and there is no doubt whatever that Virginia is at present divided against itself, and ready to come to blows on the first incitement. The new



search-law of March, 1856, by which all vessels not wholly Virginian are made subject to search, if bound to any place North of the ports of the State, and not allowed to sail without a certificate, which has to be paid for, is declared unconstitutional by several of the States; and Massachusetts has, by its Senate, resolved to contest the point. It has appropriated a sufficient amount of money to enable a sea-captain of their State to abide the penalties of refusal: and this collision, involving all the feelings connected with the subject of fugitive slaves, may very possibly have grave consequences. Meanwhile, the ruling and talking party of Virginia are pledged to slavery, and to sustain the Supreme Court, and brave a dissolution of the Union, rather than admit a President of the Republican party; while an immense majority of the citizens are bent on a policy which requires the whole area of the State for its action. What the hatred is like which the Virginia slave-breeder entertains towards his fellow-republicans of the free States is shown, in some degree, by a very recent fact. When the capital of the State was ravaged by pestilence in 1855, physicians and surgeons were summoned from a distance, or went voluntarily to Norfolk, to render aid. Of these devoted men, fourteen died, and were buried on the spot. Newspapers of a late date, and the *Norfolk Argus* for one, inform us that the state of Southern feeling towards the free North 'requires the removal' of the bodies of these benefactors of the city. Such a thing seems incredible; but the disinterment of the bodies, for removal to Philadelphia, is announced as actually decreed. If this degree of sectional hatred is insanity, it is also revolution.

Massachusetts, the intellectual and moral leader of the States of the federation, is at this moment



actually not in the Union. Its Personal Liberty law is in direct contradiction to the federal law regarding fugitive slaves ; and the position of antagonism seems likely to be maintained by the spirit of the people. A fugitive family now in Boston affords an occasion for bringing the discrepancy to a decision ; but the Slave Power does not seem disposed to try. The slave-mother in this case is as white as any lady in Boston ; and this practical testimony to the ‘ amalgamation ’ prevalent in the South gives force to the case, and makes it a good one for a test. The alternative was fairly placed before the fugitive—whether she would proceed to Canada with her children, or remain under the guardianship of the laws of Massachusetts, and of its vigilant citizens. She decided to remain ; and visitors have gone from house to house to engage the citizens in a pledge to defend their guests against all hostile comers, at all risks.

The pledge is as solemn as that of ‘ lives, fortunes, and sacred honor ’ on the former great occasion. The rendition of Sims first, and then of Burns, was a mournful piece of training for Massachusetts, which has evidently ‘ bettered the instruction,’ and she is duly prepared for the consequences of refusing any further rendition of fugitives. The Governor of the State, Gardner, in his proclamation of a general fast in April, went out of his way to recommend the clergy and citizens to avoid mixing up political subjects with the devotions of the day. The response is very striking. The citizens have spoken out in their various ways to the effect that to omit political sin, sorrow, peril, and fear from their prayers, would be to mock Heaven with hypocrisy ; and even the clergy for the most part so backward in recognizing the worst sins and troubles of their day, made the churches

ring with their denunciations of the Government's interference, and with their reprobation of the decision of the Supreme Court. The old spirit is fairly up, as it was on the first reception of the news of the treatment inflicted on their senator, last year. No doubt, it takes some time, and requires a few failures, to bring the community into the true plight for a revolutionary struggle; and there is much truth in the allegations we hear of the mercenary character of much of the support given to the Kansas Emigrant Aid Society, and of the reluctance of the wealthy, the indolent, and the timid to affront the South, and the great men at Washington. Still, there have now been so many overt acts of committal and reform, and the great body of citizens who are not involved with the South, commercially or otherwise, have always shown themselves so sound when fairly tested, that there can be no reasonable doubt of Massachusetts leading the North in any resistance to unconstitutional claims from the South. The common schools in Boston have recently been thrown open to the children of the people of color, who were formerly educated in separate schools. None but the best results have ensued; and this step is to be sustained, in defiance of all legal decisions that negroes are not citizens, and can have no rights or claims.\* Again, Massachusetts was, we believe, the first State which organized Disunion Associations,—societies formed to spread such information, and afford such centres of opinion and action, as would prepare and bring about a dissolution of the Union; and the recent action of

\* A more recent act of great courage is announced. The Senate has decreed that the Secretary of the State of Massachusetts shall supply passports to citizens of color desirous of travelling abroad.

the Supreme Court has remarkably increased the number of these societies in the North. The Free-soil party is, of course, demolished by the judgment in Dred Scott case; and it would have perished nearly as soon without such a blow. Its aim was 'to render freedom national, and slavery sectional,' instead of the existing converse. It needs no showing how that aim was impracticable, and how great a mistake it has been to call the free-soil leaders Abolitionists; and the present fortunes of the Free-Soilers have brought over multitudes to the conviction, that no aim short of the abolition of slavery can succeed, politically or otherwise. Thus, while the Abolitionists are duly grateful to Mr. Sumner and other free-soil leaders, they do not endorse their doctrine, nor approve of going into Congress by swearing to support the Constitution which it is their very object to subvert in some of its essential provisions. The method is certainly more direct and honest; and every turn of events seems to prove it more rational and hopeful. They have long openly declared, that nothing could be done for the liberties of the Republic while it had a pro-slavery Constitution; and that the only practicable remedy was an amendment of the Constitution. As the slaveholding interest have chosen to bind up the Union with the Constitution and their own additions to it, they have shaped the aim of the Abolitionists into the form of Disunion. Citizens of the highest character, ability, zeal, and disinterestedness have devoted themselves to the work of preaching the disunion doctrine; and they certainly seem to be leading public conviction more effectually in that direction. An incident which occurred a few months ago reveals a prodigious change in the senti-

ment of Boston itself, which is about as timid, and aristocratic, and dull-hearted a city, in regard to matters of reality, as any in the Union. Twenty-one years before the date of Mr. Sumner's reception in Boston on his partial recovery, Mr. Garrison had been mobbed in the streets, and in imminent danger of being destroyed as an incendiary; and for many long years he endured ill-usage from almost every class of his neighbors. He was considered a revolutionary agitator of the most dangerous character. When Mr. Sumner returned to his constituents, half-murdered, he was received with the highest honors by as vast a multitude as could find standing room along the route. He was enjoined by his physicians to make no exertion whatever, and above all things, to keep his head covered. He must not remove his hat on any consideration. In the doorway of a corner house (a well-known Abolitionist house) stood Garrison, on the top step, as it happened. Mr. Sumner saw him, and for the only time that day, removed his hat. The crowd cheered the act, and, turning to Garrison, cheered him long and loudly. The incident disclosed what seems the mind of Massachusetts in the present crisis. Mr. Sumner is re-elected, as the nearest to an Abolitionist who will go to Congress.

Several other States have assumed the same attitude towards the decision of the Supreme Court that Massachusetts did before in regard to the Fugitive Slave Act by her Personal Liberty Law. The action of the Legislatures of New York and Pennsylvania has been open and decided. That of New York, reported as early as the 9th of April, denouncing the Washington judgment as unconstitutional and altogether intolerable, and recommending cer

tain resolutions, which were passed by large majorities. It will be enough to cite the first :

‘Resolved, That this State will not allow slavery within its borders, in any form, or under any pretence, for any time, however short, LET THE CONSEQUENCES BE WHAT THEY MAY.’

On the 1st of May, the Pennsylvania Legislature pronounced on the decision of the Supreme Court, that it was null in law because it was gratuitously offered, wholly uncalled for, and to no purpose, if the judges themselves were right in declaring that Dred Scott was not, because he could not be, before the Court. The judgment was further declared to be ‘a wanton attack on the sovereignty of the free States, and an impotent attempt to nullify the established laws of the country.’ The Maine Legislature passed two Acts, which received the Governor’s approval in April, protecting the liberty of all colored persons touching the soil of the State, and providing them with all possible aid, legal and executive, in case of their being arrested as slaves; and the New England States have all, we believe, declared in one form or another, that they do not intend to yield up their laws and liberties; and there seems to be no doubt of their following the lead of Massachusetts in regard to sound Personal Liberty laws, as in other matters. In Connecticut, twenty years ago, there was no justice to be had on behalf of the teachers of children of color, or of the pupils; as was shown in the case of Miss Crandall, who could obtain no protection from the mob. On that occasion, the courts declined to decide the question whether negroes were citizens; but now there is no document to which the present crisis has given rise, that exceeds in condemnation the Report of the



Connecticut Union State Committee on the Dred Scott decision, In pious old Rhode Island, the clergy have constantly endeavored to exclude social subjects, under the name of political, from the discussions of the 'Young Men's Christian Associations;' and all mention of the colored race was therefore tabooed. But the 'young men' have no mind to be tongue-tied at such a time; and they have consulted President Wayland, the model moral philosopher (in their opinion) of their country, and he has replied that no topics seem to him more fit for Christian discussion than the duties of different races of men to each other, the obligations of social and domestic relations, and the individual trust of personal freedom, and the duties which belong to it. Such a piece of counsel will be like the sound of a trumpet throughout the old Puritan group of States. While we write, we learn that the fervor has spread beyond the Puritan States. The 'Christian Young Men's Association' of New York has sustained the loss of a dozen 'evangelical clergymen' in one evening, in consequence of the declaration that the duties of justice, peace, and good will, which they assemble to discuss and promote, must be considered as owing to persons of all complexions. The clergy cannot stand this doctrine; and they accordingly withdraw, leaving the 'Christian Young Men' to get on in their studies under the light of the spirit of the time, as that of the Church is withdrawn.

Ohio takes the lead of the Western States; and, as a part of the territory dedicated to perpetual freedom by the Ordinance of 1787, she has the strongest interest in the decision of 1857. No time was lost by the Legislature in enacting 'that it shall be unlawful to confine in the Penitentiary of this State, or in the jails of any county of this



State, any person or persons charged with simply being a fugitive from slavery.' Our readers need not be informed that Ohio knows more about fugitive slaves than perhaps any other equal area of civilization. Kidnappers are the local horror there, as Indians are in Oregon, and discontented slaves in Louisiana. It is in Cincinnati that negro mothers slay their own infants with virtuous intentions, to save them from the hell of female slavery. It is there that, on the river frontier, fugitives cross by scores and by hundreds, when the ice affords a passage ever so perilous; while on the opposite lake-frontier on the north, the bright side of the picture is seen—that of the sailing away of the wanderers for the free soil of Canada. In Ohio, the 'Underground Railway' is busiest; unless, indeed, the activity of the other great branch, through Pennsylvania, New York and New England now rivals the western one. We observe, also, that Maryland is fiercely denounced by Southern newspapers as rapidly going over to the free States, and especially as affording the safest path for fugitives to the North. It is through Ohio, however, that the greatest number of successful escapes is supposed to be made: and the noble list of ruined hosts is remarkably long in that State—the list of good men and women who have suffered loss for the sake of speeding the fugitives on their way. It was in Ohio that a constant influx of facts, visible incidents, and strong emotions filled the large heart of Harriet Beecher Stowe, and made it overflow into the general heart of the world. Year by year, petitions are sent up to the Legislature of Ohio, demanding the dissolution of its union with the slave States; and at length some notice is granted to these petitions,—enough to proceed upon, if the demand become pre-

valent. Meanwhile, the State is in fact outside the pale of the Union, like Massachusetts, from the incompatibility of its laws relating to personal liberty with those recently enacted at Washington. The only recognition of the new Supreme Court law in any of that group of States seems to be in the way of joke. Some fugitive slaves being brought to the bar at Chicago for stealing fowls, their counsel pleaded that they were not amenable to law, a recent judgment of the Supreme Court having decided that negroes were not citizens, and had no business before the tribunals, on any pretence whatever. He carried the court with him. Some jocosely railway travellers of dark complexion have refused, on the authority of the Supreme Court, to pay more than freight for their journey. Being simply *things*, they contend, they should be charged cents by the foot, and not dollars by the head. Ohio has much discredit to overcome from her former hardness to the colored race; and a pro-slavery clergy seems to exercise a most unwarrantable influence throughout the western region: but it is not to be imagined that, in such a crisis as the present, the lovers of freedom, and citizens pledged to republican self-government, should not be strong and determined enough to defend their right against encroachments which they are especially called on to defy. The commerce 'down stream' is no doubt a powerful consideration with the merchant class at Cincinnati: but there is a northern shore, with a practicable world of traffic beyond the lake; and there are western States whose freedom is of the utmost importance to Ohio. The establishment of free labor in Nebraska and Kansas, and the whole north-west territory, would compensate the Cincinnati merchants for any loss of custom from the lower Mis-

Mississippi: but there is no danger of such loss: for Ohio is of more importance to the slave States than they can ever be of to her. Ohio, being already in collision with the federal laws, may be confidently reckoned on as one of the revolutionary group, if the slave power compels such an issue.\* As for the most westerly States, all north of Missouri have acted decisively in favor of the establishment of free labor in Kansas. Iowa is to vote, next August, for or against the proposition that people of color are to have the suffrage on precisely equal terms with whites. The mere proposition, whatever may be its fate, is a revolutionary act; and the support it

\* Our anticipations are already confirmed. The following is extracted from *The Times* of June 12th:

‘A despatch from Cincinnati, of the 29th of May, says:—“Deputy United States Marshal Churchill, and eleven assistants, left this city last Tuesday to arrest four persons in Mechanicsburg, Champagne County, Ohio, charged with harboring fugitive slaves nine months ago. The arrests were made on Wednesday, when a writ of *Habeas Corpus* was taken out; but before it could be served, the United States officers, with their prisoners, were beyond the bounds of the county. Another writ was taken out in Green County, and served by the Sheriff, assisted by a large crowd of citizens. The United States officers resisted, and several shots were exchanged; but finally the United States officers were overpowered, taken prisoners, and brought to Springfield for trial for resisting the Sheriff in the discharge of his duty. The greatest excitement prevailed. The United States Marshal telegraphed the Secretary of the Interior to-day for instructions regarding the arrest and imprisonment of the United States officers, but the nature of the instructions received in reply has not yet transpired.—Judge Leavitt, United States District Judge, issued a writ of *Habeas Corpus* to-day, and the Marshal has gone to Springfield to serve it. In case resistance is offered, it is reported that the United States troops will be called out.”’

meets with shows that a great number of the citizens are rendering themselves responsible for such a step at such a time. Wisconsin is no less agitated. The action there on personal liberty legislation is too extensive and protracted to be fully cited here. The whole group of north-western States and Territories have opened roads, set up mails, forwarded supplies, furnished armed guards, and bodies of militia,—done, in short, all they could to compensate for the stoppage of the river communication during the struggle in Kansas. They have, if not a larger, a more exclusive stake in the establishment of free labor than any other part of the nation; and they will be well able to prevent the extension of slavery, if they give a due welcome to the immigrants from Europe and the Eastern States, who are always pouring in to occupy their fertile plains.

Does such a survey as this convey any idea that the free States will yield obedience to the decision of the Supreme Court, and will invite the benumbing touch of slavery to paralyze their activity—to empty their treasuries—to debase their citizens into the condition of ‘mean whites’—to banish literature, gag the press, pervert or silence the clergy, and convert a condition of eminent freedom and commercial prosperity like that of London, into a state of depression, distrust, and poverty, worse than that of Jamaica just before the abolition of slavery? Who can believe in such a possibility? And yet, the North has much to do to give the world assurance that the impending revolution will be worthy of a comparison with the former. The free States must now either yield or resist. It will not suffice for the Supreme Court to rescind its judgment, while its present constitution is such, that a repetition of outrage may happen any day. An attack

has been made on the sovereignty of the State, which must be decisively and finally repelled, or, on the other hand, submitted to ; and either alternative is revolution. If even a middle way could be found, that would be a revolution too, because it must include more or less sanction of Southern encroachment ; and that is irreconcilable with the principles of the Republic. Meantime, the free States are perhaps not more disreputably unready for their great duty than in the case of eighty years ago ; while their resources of numbers, wealth, sagacity, ability, and activity, as infinitely transcend those of their opponents as those of Great Britain exceeded the forces of the revolutionists in the former conflict. The Northern States, having all the power in their own hands, might have spared their country all talk of revolution, by simply maintaining their constitutional liberties by constitutional means. They can never be absolved from the crime of having allowed their country to be dragged into the abyss of revolution : but it is inconceivable that, now that a choice is imperative, they will allow a quarter of a million of citizens, who cannot attain prosperity in their private affairs, to rule seventeen millions of active citizens, who, if they have no great public virtue to boast of, can at least buy up the whole South ten times over.

While the Southern and federal leaders and newspapers declare themselves scandalized at the treason and rebellion of the North, what is the condition of the slave States ? The North declares it to be one of nullification of all the great principles and laws of the Union, from end to end of the list of States.

It is true, the press is nowhere free in the slave States. So vigilant is the censorship, that the readers of the few newspapers which exist, have no more



knowledge of their real condition than the citizens of Paris. The best, as well as the largest part of the world's literature is unknown there, because it breathes a freedom unsuited to the climate. There is no freedom of trade in the South : not only may a bookseller sell none but emasculated and permitted books, but a planter or merchant must deal only with firms or individuals supposed to be well inclined towards slavery. The mail service is violated to such an extent, that the contents of the bags are well known to be at the mercy of the postmasters, who are compelled to detain and destroy all documents which seem to them to threaten ' the peculiar institution.' The citizens have no security of person, property, or residence, being liable to assault on any such mob-incitement as happens somewhere or other every day : incendiarism is a besetting peril wherever slaves are at hand ; and if a man sells an obnoxious book, or entertains a mistrusted guest, or speaks his mind where walls have ears, he is ordered off at a few hours' warning—only too happy to get away with his life. These are the ordinary conditions of existence in the slave States ; and with us they would be called revolutionary. There is nothing of an organic character in such a mode of life. But the chronic distrust and instability of ordinary times are freedom and security, in comparison with the present condition of affairs throughout the slave States.

We have spoken of Virginia. Pursuing the frontier line, Kentucky comes next. So deep is the discontent with slavery there, that nothing short of Henry Clay's great influence could have sustained it for many years past : and now there is a scheme afloat for buying out the inveterate slaveholders, in



order to allow to others a choice between free and slave labor.

The notion is of opening the soil to settlers, in the same way as in Virginia; and it will be for the slave-owners then to decide between emancipating their negroes, or selling them to the South, as it is well understood that slave and free labor cannot exist on the same soil. In either case, Kentucky would pass over to the Northern interest, as it should naturally have done many years ago. We should have rejected as a fable any such scheme as this, but for the fact that freedom of the press has been achieved by a heroic family,—not without many sufferings in person and estate, but still with final success. Mr. Bailey has dared all that his neighbors could inflict, and after much mobbing, incendiarism, opposition of every kind, and repeated ruin, he has fairly established a newspaper (*The Daily News*), which tells the truth, and advocates the abolition of slavery. That he, and Cassius M. Clay, who emancipated his negroes years ago, and withstood mob dictation, are tolerated in Kentucky, prepares us to believe anything within the bounds of reason as to the improving prospects of the State. Meantime, her posture is revolutionary, whichever way it is looked at. The recent slave insurrection is a fearful warning. For some weeks the impression in Europe was that the insurrection of last winter was, as usual, a fancy of the slaveholders, who have been in a panic hundreds of times within the quarter of a century which has elapsed, without any such outbreak: but the evidence is irresistible that there really was some tacit understanding among the slaves of a large group of States, that they should rise on Christmas Day, and achieve the work to be set them by Colonel Fremont or his friends. Southern politicians

had themselves to thank for such a result of their stump-oratory. The slaves heard predictions from the wisest men they knew, that the success of Fremont would occasion the overthrow of slavery ; and there were plenty of ' mean-whites ' at hand to establish concert among them, and supply them with muskets and ammunition. The chaotic state of society which ensued in a dozen States, where the women and children were gathered into camps, and their husbands and fathers organized into a patrol, while negroes were hung in long rows, or burned alive, or whipped to death from day to day, was a remarkable preparation for such a revolutionary crisis as the Supreme Court has since brought on. Any abnormal condition of the States on the free shore of the great rivers must be at least equalled by that of the slave States opposite. The Kansas question is too large for our bounds at present. We can only observe in passing, that nowhere is the conflict of principles more remarkable than in Missouri. That State is held answerable for the troubles in Kansas ; and yet, in the very country of the Border Ruffians, the desire for the blessings of free labor and free speech is so strong, that many people (much better judges than we can be) imagine that Missouri will ere long be purged of the bully element of her population, and allowed to live according to her own convictions. Others fear that the movement is a mere sham, to be carried on only as long as it is the interest of Missouri to keep terms with both parties. However this may be, such a condition of such a territory is a fresh revolutionary element thrown in among the conditions of the time. We observe that the result of recent elections in Missouri—in which ' the anti-slavery ticket ' was carried by a majority supposed to be due to the votes of white laborers—is regarded

as intently by the Northern States as by the excitable and alarmed South. The *New York Tribune* calls it 'a democratical uprising, such as no Southern State has ever before known.' 'In St. Louis,' the writer goes on, 'we see the commencement of a process by which slavery is speedily to be driven from all the most enterprising and vigorous of the slaveholding States.' This has a somewhat revolutionary aspect: and the Southern newspapers take the same view. They propose to regard the three States of Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, henceforth as suspected members of the Union, and to prohibit all importation of slaves from any of them. Such a proposal shows how they are regarded as *slave-breeding* States; and surely everybody but the writers of such articles must see that such treatment must have the immediate effect of joining those three great States to the Northern section. By the latest accounts, this question of the frontier slave States seems to be producing a schism at the South.

The rest is easily told; for the slave States are much alike in their temper and in their liabilities, while they may differ widely, as Mr. Olmsted has shown, in the theory of their governments and the welfare of their fortunes. Louisiana admits more and more of the proprietorship of land by the mulatto sons of planters, while South Carolina clamors for a re-opening of the African slave trade; but both are in a condition of discontent and panic. Neighboring States may show a contrast of oligarchical and democratic institutions, but all are alike at present under a madness of panic which is equally ludicrous and pitiable. For instance, various Southern papers call upon the citizens to keep a vigilant eye on all female strangers, who appear as school-mistresses, governesses, lecturers, or travellers, as

‘ the Southern States are rustling with the petticoats of emissaries sent by the Abolitionists.’ A certain Mrs. Emerson, who lectures on phrenology, has created a whimsical sort of alarm in South Carolina. It appears that she is tall and robust; and her hearers, always on the look-out for Abolitionism, and being unable to discover any thing of it in her lectures, got it into their heads that she was a man in disguise. Her chattels were seized and searched: among them were letters from persons in half the States of the Union, an envelope directed to a person in Massachusetts, a lantern, and a side-saddle. It does not appear that there was any thing suspicious in the letters, and the side-saddle was rather a damper to the theory; but the lantern and Massachusetts envelope were made the more of; and the lady is packed off with all speed, being informed that if she returns, or goes elsewhere in the slave States, she shall be lynched as men are who come with lanterns and saddles. Such insane terror is no laughing matter, when it leads to the cruel assaults and murders which are recorded in every newspaper which arrives from the South; and the treatment now inflicted on travellers and strangers who venture there without a complete set of safeguards, is enough of itself to cause a hostile separation of the two sections of the Union. One would think that gipsies are sufficiently familiar and pretty well understood every where; but a Virginian newspaper of repute, which lies before us, assigns a new character to the wandering tribe. The gipsies in Virginia are ‘ emissaries of the Abolitionists,’—richly paid to gather the negroes to their camps to hear their fortunes told, and be intoxicated by promises of setting their heels on their masters’ necks. The money of the Abolitionists is spoken of as if they

carried bags of gold at their saddles, like the French Emperor ; whereas they, for the most part, trudge afoot, and have no coin to lavish, having been impoverished, or prevented from getting rich, long years ago. One of the strongest signs of the times is the energy devoted to the spread of Romanism,—a zeal by no means confined to Catholics, who yet are abundantly ready to improve the occasion. A stranger may be excused an incredulous stare when told that Protestants of the slave States are eager for the propagation of Romanism. The residents need no explanation. They understand how precious is the safeguard of the Confessional, while planters and merchants of all faiths are living in the same constant dread of incendiarism and insurrection. That ‘Spiritualism’ should be pressed into the service is equally inevitable ; and ‘the spirits’ make just the responses that might be anticipated. There is to be ‘blood’ at Washington, and fire on plantations, and a triumph of Liberty at last, or a reign of negro ferocity, according as the replies are made to peacemen or planters, frightened women, or haters of the Abolitionists. Virginia newspapers record the speeches and receive the letters of leading men who, whilst discouraging the South Carolina scheme of re-opening the African slave trade, insist that the industrial classes ought every where to be slaves, and must be so in the United States ; and the immediate consequence of grave proposals from high quarters to make slaves of the Irish and German immigrants is, that the kidnapping of whites is seriously on the increase. Seamen, waiters, and other servants, travelling merchants, all kinds of itinerants, are liable to capture at some defenceless moment ; and unless they can prove their freedom within a certain time, are sold for the payment of



jail fees. A strolling actor was thus kidnapped lately; and we could fill many pages with narratives of this kind, authenticated by public proceedings. It is a common threat, when slaves escape, that for every slave who obtains freedom, a free person shall be caught. Such a threat cannot be literally fulfilled; but it certainly appears that the disappearance of free persons, of all ages and complexions, becomes more frequent as 'the Underground Railroad' becomes more frequented. Through all times, the owners of slaves have been anxious parents; and the wretchedness of some can be appreciated only by those who have heard on the spot how whole families of young children have died, separately or together, by poison or other means of murder. Now, the woe spreads on the other side of the frontier; and the disappearance of children (especially those of dark complexion) is no uncommon incident. We are wont to pity the Berber parents whose sons are captured to be made eunuchs, and whose daughters are carried off for slaves: how can we endure our sympathy with Christian parents, of the same race and rearing with ourselves, who dare not trust their children out of their sight, lest they should be sold into the cruellest slavery in the world, in their native country! Mr. Chambers tells us what he has heard about this:—

'The practice of kidnapping white children in the Northern States, and transferring them southward, is said to be notoriously on the increase. We see it mentioned that, in the city of New York alone, as many as thirty children, on an average, are stolen yearly; it being shrewdly guessed that many of them are carried to the markets of the South, where a good price for them can be readily obtained. If there be the slightest truth in the supposition that gently-



nurtured infants are so abstracted from the homes of their parents, nothing could give a more forcible impression of the horrors entailed on American society by the tolerance of slavery in its bosom.'—(p. 3.)

There seems to be a sort of general understanding, that the turbulence of South Carolina may be taken for granted, and need not be displayed as one of the revolutionary elements of the case. 'The gallant little State,' as her citizens call her, was never known to be in a quiet condition and amiable mood for any length of time; and her citizens glory in a revolutionary attitude. South Carolina may therefore be left to assert her own claims to disorder and disloyalty; but it is necessary to remind our readers, in the briefest way, that large assemblages, in the chief towns of the State last autumn, ratified with acclamations the proposal to summon the citizens for a march upon Washington, in case of Fremont being elected, to seize the Treasury, burn the archives, and make the Halls of Congress resound with the din of actual war. Thus did South Carolina take up her position in defence of the recent corruptions of the Federal Constitution, in opposition to the Northern citizens, who proclaim their fidelity to the fundamental principles of the Republic.

No revolution recorded by history has had a more serious cause or complete justification than is afforded by a sectional antagonism like this. Is it to be supposed that a sectional population yielding 2,900,000 votes should grant to a rival numbering 1,100,000 votes, (inclusive of the fictitious slave-suffrage,) power to bring slavery and slaves among the children of free labor? and, again, to carry off the children of free labor into bondage on a slave soil?

Can any one for a moment believe that such a thing can happen?

What then, will happen? The North has the numbers, the wealth, the good cause, and the sympathy of Christendom. The South (meaning the dominant party in that section) is so poor in numbers that the world at large will not believe the figures of the census; it is so poor in wealth that its annual convention of planters and merchants sends forth the same complaints, year by year, of want of capital and the high price of labor, on the very same page with threats of setting up steamers, railways, colleges, factories, and a complete new literature, whereby New York will be ruined as a port, and England supplied with cotton without any intervention of Northern capitalists; threats that New England colleges will have no aristocratic youths within their walls, to be corrupted with vulgar notions of constitutional rights and the dignity of work; while a bright day will open on the whole class of pro-slavery authors, whose works are henceforth to supply the place of the literature of all past ages. The business of expurgating books from every other part of the world, and of creating a complete set of school-books suitable to the South, is actually confided to a committee, headed by a bishop, and chiefly composed of university men. The committee was to meet for consultation at Columbia, South Carolina, on the 18th of May last, and work was meantime provided for it by the discovery that even 'Grimshaw's History of the United States,' a text-book in almost all schools, was not exempt from the taint of Abolitionism. Grimshaw says, 'Let us no longer declare by words, but demonstrate by our action, that "all men are created equal," &c.' : and the organ of the Louisiana plant-

ers asks, on quoting this, 'Are such sentiments to be instilled into the minds of our children? If not, then banish Grimshaw's History from our schools and academies. Men will not regard them (the postulates of the Declaration of Independence); but they may warp the more impressible minds of uninformed and unreflecting childhood.' This appears to us revolutionary in the highest degree,—that the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence should be regarded as warping the mind!

No hindrance has been offered to the Southern scheme of domestic policy; but it does not appear to be yet instituted: and the question recurs why a people so subject to disappointment, failure, and poverty within their own States, has thus far overridden a rival of ten times its own force. The answer is a sorrowful one. The South has a will, and the North has not. A common average of righteous will on the part of the North would have preserved the Constitution, and dealt with the great anomaly long ago: but the only righteous will was in the Abolitionists, who are, and always will be, outside the political and the military sphere. If the Northern heart and mind once fairly kindle at the altar-fire of the confessors and martyrs of the cause, every thing may be at their disposal as regards federal relations; because *all* the power, except that of will, is on their side; but then the slave States must be regarded as delivered over to the horrors of a servile war. Half a million of the slaveholding class will be at the mercy of their 'mean-white' and negro neighbors, from the hour when the North effectually repudiates slavery. The South would doubtless try the experiment of a military despotism in the several States; but the loss of Northern aid, and of the

cotton market of Europe, would be fatal from the outset ; and they could not compete with the cotton growth of free labor. In short, such a position would be wholly untenable. To the next question—what else?—there is no present answer ; and herein lies the unmistakable token of revolution,—not merely impending, but actual. The mist of the comet blurs every thing. We can only ask questions,—and the first questions are, whether, if they wished it ever so much, the American people could now wait four years for such a reversal of parties as a presidential election may effect ; and, next, whether the strife about slavery-extension can be suspended for the fifteen years required for the reversal of the preponderance in the Supreme Court. There can, of course, be no such suspension of the vital social interests of daily life : and those who say most about waiting, best know that it is impossible.

As for us, we decline to prophesy amidst so dire a confusion, and under the shadow of so black a thunder-cloud. The one thing we are sure of is, that the old Constitution, laden with new corruptions, cannot serve and sustain the Republic. We believe that if a radical reconstitution is not immediately agreed upon, there must be a dissolution of the Union,—the slave States being subject to the curse of a military despotism, and the perils of a servile war. It hardly appears that there can be a question about this : but of the issue we cannot venture to vaticinate. Our trust is, that the Abolitionists will not abate a jot of that strong will which renders them the real antagonists of the South ; that they will press on the more strenuously as the critical moment discloses itself ; and that, by upholding in the sight of all men the democratic principles

which first gave them a country, they may justify that instinct of the highest minds in the Old World which has recognised them, amidst the depressions and obscurities of a quarter of a century of adversity, as the ten righteous men who should save their city.







## A P P E N D I X .

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Of all men living, the public journalist is the most liable to take a short-sighted view. Unless he has some moral century-plant in cultivation, his habit of living *au jour le jour* will be too strong for his judgment. This is true of journalists of all countries, for their sight adapts itself to the instrument through which they look,—whether it be, as in the United States, from one to four years long,—as in England, drawn out to seven years,—or as in France, lengthened, it may be, to twenty.

Hence the common notion of the newspapers, that it is impossible for a foreigner to understand the institutions and the political movements of the country not his own ; to which his eye is thought to be unfitted by an exclusive use of others ; whereas, if more impartial in his spirit, philosophical in his views, and sympathetic in his nature, he will be sure to see more clearly and appreciate more justly, from his higher exterior stand-point, than a native less qualified in these, the highest senses, whose eye is merely trained to look here and there within.

The French philosopher, de Tocqueville,—statesman, also, as well as traveller and *publiciste*, does not hesitate to say—‘ Un étranger auquel on livrerait aujourd’hui toutes les correspondences confidentielles qui remplissent les cartons du ministère de l’intérieur et

des préfectures, en saurait bientôt, plus sur nous que nous-mêmes.\*

Such an article as the one here reprinted by the American Anti-Slavery Society from the *Westminster Review* of July, 1857, brings de Toqueville's remark forcibly to mind. The reviewer seems to have had at command American sources of information equivalent to the ones indicated by the French statesman. With a rare power of rapid generalization and correct deduction, this writer shows the American people where they now are, as none among themselves have yet been able to do. Nearness to the scene of action enables us to append, in our reprint, a few microscopical observations, which in no wise affect the broad and just view presented; and which, as the truest in our judgment yet offered, we deem it a duty to circulate as widely as possible.

The reviewer errs in supposing that 'free negroes are excluded from slave States by law and usage, and in fact,'—as more than one half of the whole number of such persons in the United States reside at the South, notwithstanding the efforts made to drive them out; but the slave States generally make it a penal offence for any free blacks from the North to attempt to reside on their soil, or to visit them for any purpose whatever—subjecting such as are caught to imprisonment, stripes and fines, and in many instances, selling them on the auction-block to the highest bidder, and reducing them to slavery for life.

The great majority of the Abolitionists are represented to be 'non-resistants.' This is a mistake. Very few of them accept the doctrine of non-resistance; though it is true that 'moral means are their

\* A foreigner who should be shown to-day the confidential correspondence of the Ministry of the Interior and the chiefs of the departments, would soon know more about us than we do ourselves.

only weapons' in carrying on the conflict with the Slave Power. Unquestionably, the effect of their labors upon the minds of the slaves has been eminently pacific; but it is an exaggeration to say that, before 1832, 'slave insurrections averaged twelve in a year,' though such were comparatively frequent prior to the commencement of the Anti-Slavery movement.

Gov. Wise, of Virginia, is not the author of the scurrilous phrase, 'greasy mechanics,' as applied to Northern artizans: it originated in the *Muscogee* (Alabama) *Herald*. Still, it does no injustice to the spirit or the manners of the fiery Virginian, and faithfully represents the contempt which is universally cherished and expressed by the slaveholding lords of the lash for Northern free laborers.

The Resolution quoted by the reviewer as having been adopted by the Legislature of New York, was somewhat modified, and rendered less defiant, prior to its passage; but its presentation to that body by a joint committee was an act of great significance.

The declaration, that the mere proposition to allow colored persons to vote at the polls, in Iowa, 'is a revolutionary act,' is an erroneous inference, because it is the constitutional right of every State to decide who of its inhabitants shall use the elective franchise. In Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the colored citizens enjoy equal political privileges with the whites; and in several other free States, they are allowed to vote, under certain unjust restrictions.

The reviewer means to be understood, of course, as speaking with reference to probable results, rather than in a literal sense, in the averment that, in consequence of her Personal Liberty Bill, 'Massachusetts is at this moment actually not in the Union.' As yet, she avows her loyalty to the Union; and she claims that her Personal Liberty Bill is strictly constitutional. But how her position is regarded south

of Mason and Dixon's line, may be seen by the following extracts from southern journals.

This is the language of the Louisville (Ky.) *Journal* :—

‘The recent nullifying legislation of Massachusetts receives grave consideration from every friend of the Union. It will lead to similar retaliatory legislation on the part of the Southern States against her, and all other States following her example. She and others will again retaliate against the South, and thus, by mere separate State legislation, all the valuable purposes of the Union will be destroyed, and in the opinion of none will it be worth preserving.

‘Massachusetts cannot, under the plea of ignorance, escape the imputation of having wilfully renounced her allegiance to the Union, or, in other words, wilfully refused to perform her duties under the national compact. By the legislative countenance she has given to the theft and robbery of Southern property, by the immunity she promises to the thieves and robbers, and by the official exaltation of the more prominent of the aiders and abettors of those thieves and robbers, she knowingly violates all sense of propriety and justice, and hurls a presumptuous and vindictive defiance against the whole South.’

The New Orleans *Picayune* says :—

‘It is not in the South alone, outraged as every Southern State is, in its most essential rights, by the late legislation of the Massachusetts Legislature on the Fugitive Slave Law, that public opinion is rising in indignant reprobation. All over the country, the press, without respect to party divisions, speaks with singular unanimity of *the disloyalty to the Union*, the disregard of the Constitution, and the aggressive temper towards the slaveholding States, which are manifest in the spirit and letter of their atrocious law. Except now and then a furious abolition oracle, like the New York *Tribune*, Massachusetts has no defenders outside of her own

imits. From within these, too, we are glad to have concurrent voices, raised earnestly and courageously, in protest against the ruling madness of the day, and heartily re-echoing the denunciations which come back from all quarters of the Union against the act by which the State has been placed in direct conflict with constitutional laws of Congress, and every citizen of the State who may aid in executing the law is put under the ban of disfranchisement, and almost of outlawry.

‘The matter at stake is no less than that of civil war, only to be avoided, unless the State recedes, by a concession, almost as fatal at once, that *Massachusetts is out of the Union by her own act*, and the determination that she will be altogether foreign, if she will not be altogether loyal. The position she has been made to occupy is incompatible with her duties to the Union, and in derogation of the most perfect rights of other States in it; and it is to be decided soon, in what way and how we cannot foresee, whether she is to be restored to her harmony with the other States within the Union, or the Union is to sustain the inevitable shock of a separation.’

This is what the Charleston (S. C.) *Standard* says :—

‘A correspondent of the *Mobile Tribune* recommends that every lawyer in the Southern States shall pledge himself to his brethren of the bar and the community, that he will not aid in the collection of any debt or claim for a citizen of Massachusetts, in any court, until the act referred to is repealed. The *Montgomery (Ala.) Mail* adopts this suggestion, and recommends it to the consideration of the Supreme Court now in session. The *Mail* also proposes that Southern bankers and brokers shall join in this movement, and refuse Boston paper for collection.’

Here is the action of a public meeting held in Howard county, Missouri :—

At a meeting of ‘the people of Howard county,’ Mo., irrespective of party, convened at the Court

House in Fayette, June 4th, the following resolutions, among others, were unanimously adopted :—

Resolved, That we will patronize no merchant who hereafter purchases any part or parcel of his goods in Massachusetts, or deals in any of the wares or products of that State. so long as the present infamous nullification laws disgrace her statutes.

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to all the citizens of the slaveholding States to assist us in the good work of starving the knaves and fanatics of Massachusetts into honest, law-abiding citizens, by patronizing the manufacturers of such States only as regard our constitutional rights.

At an 'immense meeting' of the citizens of Boone county, Missouri, held at Columbia, the following among other resolutions was passed :—

Resolved, That the recent decision of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, declaring the Fugitive Slave Law unconstitutional, and of no binding force within the limits of that State, and the passage of the Personal Liberty Bill, in defiance of the Governor's veto, by the Legislature of Massachusetts, whereby the Fugitive Slave Law is practically nullified within the limits of that Commonwealth, are alarming evidences of fanaticism, nullification and treason, calculated to foment discord among the people of the States, and ultimately to dissolve the Union.

These extracts must suffice. Where such a spirit is cherished, it is absurd to speak of any fellowship existing between the parties. One thing is certain : the relations which the North sustains to the slave system of the South, under the Constitution, involves her in all its guilt, and much of its danger—from which she can extricate herself only by dissolving the Union, and organizing a free Northern republic. To this result events are rapidly tending, as indicated by the masterly article from the *Westminster Review*.







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